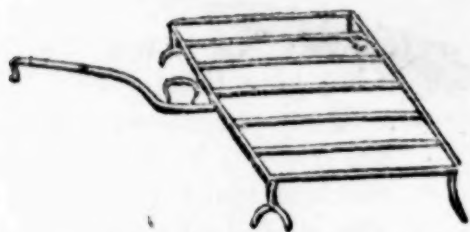


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"I am happy to be convinced, that this system must be overthrown; that we must return to cash-payments, from one cause or another; and that that return will destroy this monopolising and brutalising system."
—Register, 21 March, 1821.

TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

Barn-Elm Farm, 1st July, 1828.

MY LORD DUKE,

I AM about to offer you my opinion respecting **THE END** of the system of paper-money; that is to say, to tell you in plain words, what *I think* will be the end of it, and how that end will affect the nation, and particularly *the aristocracy*. But, before I do this, I will give you some proofs, or, one at least, that you ought to *listen attentively to what I say*.

It is now acknowledged, on all hands, that it was a monstrous folly to pass *Peel's Bill*, without other measures to prevent its fatal effects. This is what no man now denies. Well, then, *a full year before this Bill was passed*, I proved that such a Bill must produce all the evils which this Bill did produce, has been producing, and has yet to produce. That fact alone ought to induce you to listen to what I now say.

But, I have to produce something more striking than this. It was **RICARDO**, a loan and fund and stock dealer, who caused the Parliament to pass this Bill, by persuading the "**COLLECTIVE WISDOM**," that the Bill could not cause *prices to fall more than three per cent., or four and a half, at most*; and, the man who made them believe this, they called an "**ORACLE**," and **LORD DACRE** called him the "*greatest arguer* that he

had ever seen." In 1821, when the drugs of **PEEL'S BILL** had begun to work decently, and had, I thought, softened the hard skulls of the landlords, I endeavoured to put some sense into them by showing *how it was that their "ORACLE" had deceived himself*. Mr. **MUSHET**, of the Mint, (one of poor Parnell's *authorities*) had published a book to show that *no deduction ought to be made from the interest of the Debt*, seeing that the fundholders had gained by low prices no more than they had lost by high prices. To make out this, he had taken the *market price of gold as his standard of prices*. And this was what **RICARDO** had done, when he was called an "**ORACLE**" by the Collective.

In October, 1821, when the land began to be *heartily sick, sick at heart, deadly sick*, I applied the following physic to their stomachs. Now, my **LORD DUKE**, you are a man of *good sense*. The nation thinks so, and it has long been tired of *special pleading* politicians, who have *talked* it into its present state. Please to hear, then, what I told the landlords in 1821, relative to the doctrines of this foolish fellow, **RICARDO**. I not only told them, that **RICARDO** was a fool: *that I had told the whole nation long before*; but I now told them **HOW** he had committed the folly. This is a matter of the greatest importance: Sir **JAMES GRAHAM**, **BARING**, and enough more, now acknowledge, that they were *misled* by **RICARDO**; and you will see what obstinate oafs they must have been to be thus misled, after 1821, at any rate. I hope, that you and the rest of our brother soldiers will not be thus obstinate, when you have had the same arguments laid before you. Having, in Register, 20th October, 1821, quoted the words of Mr. **MUSHET**, I, addressing myself to the Landlords, proceed as follows:—

166. "Now this is the very '*principle*' upon which the parliament proceeded in the passing of *Peel's Bill*, which, to cite the expression of the

A

"most accomplished rogue I ever heard
 "or read of, when detected in fabricat-
 "ing false accounts, said it was *the*
 "*principle of mistake!* As granny
 "MUSHET takes the thing on *both sides*,
 "the *market price of gold*, during the
 "age of depreciation, is fair enough;
 "for, though it is no criterion at all as
 "applied to the present state of things,
 "and though the only true criterion is,
 "the price of the *necessaries of life*, it
 "is as broad as long as far as granny
 "MUSHET goes. The fact is, that the
 "Fundlords could not, for a long while,
 "buy with a *pound* more than they can
 "now buy for about *seven or eight shil-*
 "*lings*; but, then, the pound that they
 "lent was worth only about seven or
 "eight shillings of the present money.
 "While the paper was *depreciated* and
 "the *prices high*, one was a balance
 "against the other. And, if the account
 "had been *closed* when Peel's Bill was
 "passed; if a *new valuation* of the debt
 "had taken place, all would have been
 "right enough; but, then, that valuation
 "must have been made, not on granny
 "MUSHET's principle, but upon this
 "principle, that the Fundlord should
 "receive, for every pound lent, a *sum*
 "*sufficient to purchase as much of the*
 "*necessaries of life as that pound would*
 "*have purchased at the time that it was*
 "*lent*. This was the principle that
 "should have been adopted; and that
 "man must be besotted or perverse in-
 "deed who can contend for any other
 "principle.

167. "To refer to the *market price*
 "of gold as a *standard* is exactly what
 "the Oracle did; the Oracle of the
 "'*Collective Wisdom.*' Gold, says he,
 "being the *standard of all things in the*
 "*world*; every price *depending on that*
 "*of gold*; and gold now being within
 "*four and a half per cent.* of its lowest
 "possible price, the prices of *other*
 "*things* cannot, by this measure, be
 "brought down more than four and a
 "half per cent; and, of course, a South-
 "Down Lamb, at Norwich fair, which
 "now sells for about 30s. will lose in
 "price only 1s. 5½d. and a fraction;
 "and will, of course, sell, in future, for
 "28s. 6½d. This was a mere trifle.

"The farmers could stand this; and
 "the Landlords, always as wise as their
 "tenants, chuckled and hiccupped with
 "delight at seeing gold about to return,
 "the *puff-out* rendered impossible, and
 "the Radicals put down for ever.
 "Nought but glee filled their 'manly'
 "hearts. They embraced the Oracle
 "with the fervency of pardoned peni-
 "tents, and bedewed his beard with the
 "overflowings of their gratitude. Oh!
 "how they licked him and slobbered
 "him over, and how my Lord *****
 "called him his *honourable friend!*

168. "This was the ground upon
 "which Peel's Bill was passed! This
 "queer, this 'Change-Alley, this Jew-
 "like notion of the price of gold being
 "the *standard*. However, this was no
 "new notion: it had been harped on by
 "Oracle Horner and his Bullion Com-
 "mittee; by Lord *****; and by a great
 "many others, long before the Oracle
 "by excellence spouted it forth. When
 "I read this, in Long Island, how de-
 "lighted I was! I not only saw that
 "the Borough lads were caught; but, I
 "saw how they had been caught; and,
 "we always lose half the pleasure be-
 "longing to such a thing, unless we
 "know how it has taken place. When
 "the farmer's men bring him home a
 "fox that has long escaped his toils, he
 "cannot stir from them till he has learnt
 "from their lips, while they drink his
 "ale, where they found him, how they
 "out-witted him, and where and how
 "they got the old rascal at last, who
 "shot him, what dog first laid hold of
 "him, how he fought, and how he died.
 "Thus it was with me, when I got the
 "Morning Chronicle containing the
 "'*debates,*' as they are, drolly enough,
 "called on Peel's Bill. And, when I
 "saw how the power-of-imprisonment-
 "bill gentlemen had been noodled along
 "so neatly by such a man as the Oracle,
 "I was ready to go crazy with joy.
 "Some friends have told me, that they
 "thought me in jest, when I said, that
 "I sent for my son to New York to
 "come up twenty miles to help me
 "laugh; but, I do assure them, it is
 "perfectly true. He had a right to his
 "share of the sport. I skimmed the



"papers over; and the moment I saw
"the grave assertion, that the fall in
"prices and rents would be only *in pro-*
"portion to the fall in the price of gold,
"I bursted out a laughing, threw down
"the paper, packed off my man and
"horses for my son, before I set-to for
"a regular reading and laughing.

169. "That I did not laugh without
"reason the event has fully proved. I
"might have *doubted* as to the ultimate
"views of the 'Collective Wisdom;' I
"might have supposed, that they in-
"tended to reduce the interest of the
"debt; but, when I saw, that they re-
"lied upon prices and rents falling *only*
"in proportion to the fall in the price
"of gold, I was *sure* that their difficul-
"ties would be as great even as they
"have proved to be. If there be any
"persons to *blame* me for my joy and
"and my laughter, let them tell me
"their names, and I will *laugh at them*.

170. "To suppose, that the *market*
"price of gold is, or can be, any standard
"at all, in a case like this, is monstrous.
"For, if such were the case, prices
"would be always the same in times of
"a settled currency. Gold is an article
"bought and sold like other things; and,
"of course, must, in many cases, be
"affected by causes which have no in-
"fluence at all as to *rents and prices of*
"things in general. Besides, the noto-
"rious fact; the fact known to every
"man above the mere labourer; that
"the actual price of gold for any series
"of years shows this in figures. The
"Collective Wisdom' had before it at
"least a score of official documents to
"show, that gold had been cheapest
"when corn and meat were dearest;
"and that gold had been dearest, when
"corn and meat were cheapest. It had
"documents to show, that, in the ter-
"ribly dear year of 1800, the price of
"gold was at 77s. 10½d. the ounce; and
"that, in the cheap years of 1802, 1803
"and 1804, gold was at 82s. the ounce.
"It had documents to show, that, in the
"dear year, 1812, gold was at 95s. 6d.
"an ounce; and that, in the cheap year
"of 1814, it was at 104s. the ounce.
"How, then, could the 'Collective
"Wisdom' imagine, how could it *dream*,

"that the price of gold *was the standard*
"of rents and prices generally; and how
"could it hail as an *Oracle* the man that
"called upon it to pass, upon such a
"notion, an act affecting all the con-
"tracts and all the property in the king-
"dom? But, when I reflect, why should
"I ask such a question!"

Now, my Lord Duke, what excuse
has GRAHAM and the rest of them? What
excuse have they for continuing in their
error until *now*? Or, if light has, for
some time, found its way into their skulls,
what excuse have they for not having
confessed their error before; they being
law-makers all the while, and entrusted
with the happiness of the people? In a
letter to the *Stern-path-man*, published
in Register of 9th March, 1822, I treated
the matter still more elaborately, and
left not a doubt on the subject in the
mind of any man of sense, who read with
attention and with a desire to acquire a
knowledge of the subject. The explana-
tion of this matter is, in fact, an explana-
tion of the cause, the *real and only cause*,
of all the embarrassments that you now
experience, and of all the greater em-
barrassments that are at hand. It ought,
therefore, to be particularly attended to
by you, and especially at this moment,
when all the principles here laid down
are of really awful interest. By only a
little attention to the passage that I am
about to insert, a clear head, though it
never entertained the subject before, will
clearly discover **HOW IT IS** that this
nation has been what may fairly be
called *swamped*. The Bill of 1826 will
restore gold to its natural power; will,
in a great degree, take it from the de-
basing influence of the paper; and the
consequence will be, that the paper will
skulk away from it. Therefore, I hope
you will read *now* that which, if it had
been listened to in 1822, would have
prevented all the calamities that we have
since experienced.

"But, your lordship gives some *rea-*
"sons, drawn from facts at home, why
"taxation should not be the cause of the
"distress. One of these is, that agri-
"culture was prosperous up to the last
"year of war; and that, since that time,
"eighteen millions of taxes have been

"taken off". Aware that, after the
 "answer that I have so often given to
 "this, the fact would not avail you with-
 "outsomething further, you go on to say,
 "that it *has been contended*, that this
 "nominal reduction of taxation was
 "nothing when compared with its *real*
 "augmentation by the *rise in the value*
 "of money. Precisely so! Precisely
 "thus it has been contended; and how
 "do you answer this proposition? Why
 "thus, that the paper-money never was
 "depreciated more than a *fourth*; that,
 "therefore, the money can have been
 "raised no more than *one-fourth* in
 "value; that, therefore, as the taxes
 "were reduced *one-fourth* in amount,
 "the taxes could not now press more
 "heavily than they did in the last year
 "of the war, when agriculture pros-
 "pered; and that, therefore, the taxes
 "cannot be the cause of the present dis-
 "tress. This argument rests entirely
 "upon the original sin of Peel's Bill;
 "namely, the most monstrous idea, that
 "prices of produce would fall only in
 "the degree that the gold was, at the
 "time of passing the Bill, higher in
 "value than the paper! This original
 "sin has tainted all the proceedings of
 "the parliament, as to this subject, from
 "that day to this. It was engendered
 "in the head of Mr. RICARDO, and has
 "since found its way into that of Sir
 "FRANCIS BURDETT, who 'cannot see
 "how Peel's Bill can have lowered
 "prices of produce a hundred per cent.
 "when it has raised the value of money
 "only four and a half per cent.' Can
 "he 'see' and can he tell me, what the
 "market price of gold had, or has, to
 "do with the matter? Does he not
 "know, that gold as merchandise and
 "gold as currency are two things very
 "widely different? Does he not know,
 "that, as long as paper and gold cir-
 "culate together, and especially when
 "the paper is (as it yet is here to a cer-
 "tain extent) a legal tender; does he
 "not know, that when this is the case,
 "the paper 'pulls down the gold,' as
 "PAINE so well expresses it? Does he
 "not know, that to put paper out of cir-
 "culation, you must draw gold from
 "abroad, lessen the quantity there, and

"lower prices there, and that your own
 "prices must, besides the fall caused
 "by the diminution of the paper at
 "home, take a further fall in pursuit of
 "the foreign prices! Does he not
 "know, that to take an ounce of gold, or
 "77s. 10½d. out of circulation is quite
 "another thing than to take an ounce
 "of gold out of the markets? No: he
 "appears to know nothing at all of the
 "matter, any more than your lordship;
 "and to this blunder it is, that we owe
 "all, or the greater part, at any rate,
 "of the pertinacity with which the Par-
 "liament clings to the measures, which
 "have ruined so many thousand upon
 "thousands of persons engaged in com-
 "merce, trade, manufactures, and agri-
 "culture.

"In different parts of the Register
 "I have explained this matter already,
 "over and over again. So long ago as
 "1805, that is to say, 17 years ago,
 "under the title of "*Jacobin Guineas*."
 "I explained how it was, that the gold
 "was really depreciated by the power
 "of the paper. This article will be
 "found in the Preliminary part of
 "'Paper against Gold.' As soon as I
 "heard, in America, of the passing of
 "Peel's Bill, I said in the Registers
 "then written, that the Parliament was
 "deceived in expecting that prices of
 "produce would fall only in the degree
 "of the then difference between the
 "value of gold and that of paper. But,
 "as this is the great stumbling-block;
 "as this error is the main basis of all
 "the false hopes that your lordship and
 "your colleagues are now holding forth
 "to the landlords and the farmers, I
 "will here, for, perhaps, the twentieth
 "time, endeavour to root this error out
 "of your minds.

"The erroneous position is this: that
 "the market-price of gold is the stand-
 "ard whereby to measure prices of every
 "thing, even in a case where paper is a
 "legal tender. Look, my Lord, at *Let-
 "ters to Landlords*, Letter V., paragraph
 "170, and then believe this position if
 "you can, though it be still adhered to
 "by, and whined out in the dying voices
 "of the EDINBURGH REVIEWS, by GRAN-
 "NY MUSHET, by Mr. RICARDO, and

“now, at last, by Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.
 “The notion is, that *because* 8 ls. in paper
 “would buy (in 1819) 77s. 10½d., in
 “gold, leaving a difference of about 4½
 “per cent., the causing of the Bank to
 “pay in gold on demand could not pos-
 “sibly lower prices of produce more
 “than 4½ per cent. But, the fact is,
 “that the gold in the market had been,
 “and then was, and still is, *kept down*
 “*in price by the paper.*

“The value of gold, as compared
 “with that of commodities, must, like
 “that of other things, depend on the *de-*
 “*mand for it*; and must it not, then,
 “*sink in value*, when it ceases to be
 “called for, or, which is the same in
 “effect, when its circulation is virtually
 “*prohibited* in any particular country,
 “as is the case when there is a legal
 “tender of paper? It must, as one of
 “my Correspondents well observes, not
 “only sink in the country where such
 “prohibition exists; but, as it emigrates
 “for want of employment, it *sinks in*
 “*value*, (in comparison with commo-
 “dities) in other countries, because, by
 “such emigration, it adds to the quantity
 “of money there.

“This is the way in which we are to
 “account for the difference in the de-
 “preciation of our paper when com-
 “pared *with gold*, and when compared
 “with the value of the *produce of the*
 “*land*. Had the *use* of gold, as common
 “currency, never ceased, this difference
 “never would have been heard of. But,
 “when it ceased to act in that capacity,
 “it was no longer a *standard of value*.
 “It signifies not a straw, whether the
 “use of gold, as currency, cease in con-
 “sequence of positive law, or in conse-
 “quence of other causes. The effect is
 “the same. In America, for instance,
 “where there was no *law of legal ten-*
 “*der*, coin had, in 1817, been nearly
 “banished from circulation. There was
 “no *difference*, in any money transac-
 “tions, between the value of paper and
 “that of Spanish dollars. Yet, as soon
 “as the paper began to disappear in the
 “year 1819, *prices of farm-produce*
 “*fell one-half*; and, in the fall of that
 “year, fat hogs, which had, only the
 “year before, sold at 12 dollars a hun-

“dred pounds, sold at 5 or 6 dollars.
 “Nothing can show more clearly than this
 “the power of paper-money to *sink the*
 “*value of gold and silver compared with*
 “*that of commodities*. But, even with-
 “out any argument of experience, what
 “indeed can be more clear? Suppose
 “there to be a tenth part only of the cur-
 “rency of a country consisting of paper;
 “suppose no law of legal tender; sup-
 “pose the paper to be *at par* with the
 “gold; and, then, suppose some cir-
 “cumstances to take out of circulation
 “a half of the paper; will you contend
 “that prices of produce *will not fall at*
 “*all*, because the paper was, before
 “this circumstance took place, *upon it*
 “*par with gold*? Yet, this, if you be con-
 “sistent, *you must* contend, if you per-
 “sist in contending, that the prices of
 “produce can have been lowered by
 “Peel’s Bill only in proportion to the
 “difference between the value of paper
 “and that of gold at the time when the
 “Bill was passed. Why, my Lord,
 “was not paper generally on a par with
 “gold in this country up to the year
 “1797? And yet, will you contend, that
 “the paper did not assist in proportion
 “to its quantity, to *raise prices* from the
 “fatal hour that the Bank was invented
 “up to the year 1797? Do you not see
 “prices rise at every emission of smaller
 “Bank notes, during the whole of this
 “period; and yet paper kept, all the
 “while, at a *par with gold*, and gold and
 “paper circulated side by side! What
 “more do you want to prove, that paper-
 “money *pulls down* the value of gold
 “compared with the value of commo-
 “dities; though the paper and the gold
 “may, all the while be *at par*? What
 “more do you want to convince you,
 “that you took a *false standard* when you
 “passed Peel’s Bill? What more do
 “you want to expose the shallowness
 “of Mr. Horner, the Edinburgh Re-
 “viewers, Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Peel, Sir
 “Francis Burdett, and, I must add, of
 “your Lordship’s own-self? What
 “more do we of this great, troubled and
 “distracted nation want, to convince us,
 “that ‘*stern-path-of-duty*’ men, dun-
 “geon-bill men, and six-Acts men,
 “are not the men calculated for restor-

“ing the nation to safety and prosperity?”

“When about to pass an act to compel the Bank to pay in gold, you should have ascertained, if possible, not any thing about the *then relative value of paper and gold*, but the proportion in which *the quantity of circulating medium would be diminished* by that act of compulsion. This was the question that demanded (as I said at the time) all the *mind* that you had to apply to that, or to any matter; and this is precisely what you seem to have paid no attention to. Could any man in his senses believe, that the circulating medium would be diminished only in the degree of 4½ per cent? Could any man suppose, that, when the currency of this country came to be of the *same nature* as the currency of other countries, any thing nearly approaching the quantity of 1819 would be kept afloat; bearing in mind, as every man of sense must, that the gold drawn from other countries must lower prices in those countries, and that these would, of necessity, pull down our prices after them?”

“Thus have I developed this *original sin* of Peel’s Bill; and, if I have succeeded in making myself understood by the landlords, your Lordship will not get them *quietly along*, through even the *present Session* of Parliament; for, they will have a clear view of the gulf which is open before them. As long as they can be made to believe, that Peel’s Bill can have reduced prices only in the degree of the difference between the value of paper and that of gold in 1819; so long must they confess that your doctrine, *that taxes do not produce distress*, is sound and good. Take Sir FRANCIS BURDETT at his word (adopted from Mr. RICARDO); get the landlords to admit, that the market price of gold was the standard of the depreciation of money compared with produce; and you have no difficulty in proving, that taxes are *not the cause* of the distress of agriculture, and that the repealing of them *cannot remove that distress*; because

“it is not to be denied, that agriculture was (as to farmers and landlords) *prosperous* in 1813, and that taxes have, since that time, been taken off in a degree proportionable to the difference (in 1813) between the value of the paper and the gold. But, let the landlords see the thing in its true light, let them once reject this groveling, this Jew-like, view of the matter, and your Lordship will, if they have the smallest portion of spirit left, find them extremely difficult to manage.”

Now, my Lord Duke, was any thing ever more clear than this? And yet these men, GRAHAM, and BURDETT, and the rest, were still in the dark! GRAHAM says, that *he* was a *young* Member, when we adopted the “unhappy error” of RICARDO; but BURDETT was “no longer young.” His hair was grey before RICARDO was heard of. He had read Paper against Gold, and he had read all my proofs of RICARDO’s folly, and yet, even in March, 1822, he uttered the opinion ascribed to him in the last of the above-quoted articles. NOW, indeed, he says the contrary, *just the contrary*. Let me put the two sentences distinctly before you:

BURDETT IN 1822.—“I cannot see how Mr. PEEL’S BILL can have lowered prices of produce a hundred per cent., when it has raised the value of money *only four and a half per cent.*”

BURDETT IN 1828.—“He (Mr. Peel) is unfortunate in having his name so closely connected with a Bill productive of *more misery to the country than that of any other ever devised*; a measure which has weakened all the sources of our wealth, and dried up all the springs of our industry, and which has been mitigated in its destructive effect upon the country only because it has never been carried wholly into effect.”

Burdett is a fellow of singular luck: the older he grows, the *clearer* he sees. He could “*not see*,” poor fellow, in 1822, that which he can now see very plainly; and can see, too, that that was ruinous to the country, which, in 1822, he could not see to have any harm to it! In a few years more his eyes will be *still wider open*, and he may throw away those spectacles, which he wore before RICARDO came upon the stage.

Here, my Lord Duke, is quite suffi-

cient to justify you in despising these men's opinions, and to induce you to listen to what they rejected for so many years. But, is it not surprising, that, even now, there should be men still to recommend to *you to act on the principles of Ricardo!* They proclaim him to have been either fool or something worse; they repent of the errors that he led them to commit; and, in the very same breath, they support, on *his authority*, the opinion, that paper-money is better than gold! Nay, PARNELL, who is Chairman of the *Finance Committee*, applauds PETER MACCULLOCH to the skies! And PETER is the LECTURER of the RICARDO-LECTURES! This conceited coxcomb, puffed up by the *half-million* of money that he had got by "watching the turn of the market," and by the praises of base men, who looked upon great bags of money as inseparable from wisdom, left a sum of money to support a LECTURER, whose lectures were to keep alive *his principles*. MACCULLOCH, a Scotchman, was to be, and is, the Lecturer; and PARNELL, who now hears even half-fools making the discovery, that RICARDO's principles led to the ruin of the country, still has the folly and impudence to extol this Lecturer as fit to teach the merchants of London their business!

These are fit persons to give opinions to a Minister, on whose decision must depend, in a great degree, the fate of the country! These are pretty *guides*: the concern must be in a delightful state with guardians like these! Would the present difficulties have existed, if the Parliament had rejected the advice of Ricardo, and listened to mine? If that had been the case, should we ever have heard of *panics*? If that had been the case, would so many thousands now have been, without fault or error, on the brink of ruin? If none of these questions can be answered in the affirmative, *ought you not now to pay attention to my opinions?*

I do not offer you the opinions of a mere writer of pamphlets and papers. They are the opinions of a man, who has been for 25 years pitted against the Ministry and the Parliament upon one

great question, involving the fate of the country; a man, who has had all the weight of the whole Government and of all its adjuncts directed against his efforts; a man who has been a constant object of obloquy with ninety-nine hundredths of the press during the whole of those 25 years; a man, who, though standing alone, it has cost millions to thwart, and, as was hoped, to put down; a man whom events have proved to have been right from the first to the present hour. Good God! how dearly has this nation paid for the endeavours to destroy my power! And, for years past, that power, in spite of all that has been done, has been regularly increasing; and, at this very moment, there is greater anxiety in the public to know what *I think*, than to know what the Parliament is doing, or what it will do.

It is not, therefore, an ordinary man that addresses you, and that tenders you opinions. Those who openly and zealously espouse my cause form no small part of the most sensible men in England. Another large part stand looking, ready to come over. True, I am hated, or, at least, so I trust, by more fools and knaves than any other man; but I have cordial and faithful friends in greater numbers than any other man that ever lived; friends that have been acquired by my talents, my perseverance, my constancy, my inflexible adherence to truth, reason, and justice, and, above all things, by my total disregard of consequences when interest was opposed to duty. I believe, and, indeed, I am sure of the fact, that where there are ten men who feel anxious for the preservation of the health and life of *any other man* in the kingdom, there are a hundred men who feel anxious for the preservation of my health and life. You may think of this what you please: I am sure of it; and I say it in order to induce you to listen to my advice. Why, then, I am an "eighth wonder of the world." No: I do not want to be any wonder: but, this is the state of the case: there is a great and most vital question now to be decided: the Ministry, the Parliament, the aristocracy, the parsons, the army, the bankers, almost all the very rich, are on

one side ; and I am on the other. There is no *single man* in Parliament, no man known to the public, as connected with this question, *except myself*. The subject is such as to interest every body : and no *one man* is, as connected with it, talked of but myself. This, however disagreeable to aristocratic pride, is the truth. The question with the public is, *whether I am likely to triumph*, or otherwise : thousands are more anxious about this than about their own interest in the result : all which is very natural, and, at the same time, very just : if this were not so, this would be a very base and doltish public. A man could not, for more than a quarter of a century, be an object of persecution with a government, under which so much misery has come, without being, at last, an object of great interest with a large part of the people. Such a man, holding out so long, overcoming every thing, still going on as vigorously as ever, must, were it only on that account, attract to himself a great portion of public admiration and confidence : most people will believe, that such a man must be *right*, and very few will be bold enough to pronounce him to be *wrong*. Then, the *thwarting* of the very general desire to see me in Parliament ; the dreadful curse by which all having power or riches seem to have bound themselves to prevent *my voice* from being heard where it must produce great effect : this has been another and a great cause of the weight that I have acquired : the people, while they feel *resentment* on this account, look upon it as a proof, that my enemies are conscious of their inability to meet me on the same floor. In short, here is a Government, carrying on a system that has plunged the nation into ruin and despair ; and here is *one man*, who has constantly been opposed to that system, and constantly foreseeing and foretelling the dreadful results to which it would lead ; and that man has been constantly an object of persecution with the powerful and the rich. Is it wonderful that such a man should be an object of great and general interest, that the judgment of the mature and that the passions of the young should pay homage to him ; that his opinions should have

weight greater than those of any other man ?

In all the ways in which power can be exerted, it has been exerted against me. Prosecution merciless against both purse and person ; laws made for the express purpose of preventing me from being heard ; a base press, with the exception of part of the press in Ireland, poisoning the very air with its contagious breath, seeming, for years, to exist for almost the sole purpose of causing me to be hated or despised, there having been, in hundreds of instances, on every public-house and almost every private-house table in the whole kingdom, lying, at one and the same moment, in print, some atrocious calumny upon me, I having, in fact, no more protection from the law than a mad dog would have had ; scoundrel and cowardly lawyers, dragging my name into their speeches in court, though I was no party and no witness in the case ; base shuffle-breeches REVIEWERS, not bold enough to *censure*, endeavouring to kill my works by their *silence*. I have triumphed over all : I have silenced even that seven-fold CERBERUS, the press, have *destroyed its character*, showed it in its true colours, and stripped it of its powers of deceiving. As to the base old hacks, the REVIEWERS, I have actually written a *library of books*, in despite of them, and have proved, that a man of real talent need care no more about them than about so many nasty polecats or toads. How safely these wretched hacks may be despised I have clearly showed. My English Grammar, my French Grammar, my Year's Residence in America, my Sermons, my Protestant Reformation, my Woodlands, my Paper against Gold. Prodigious has been the sale of all : all books on important subjects, and particularly *the last* : and not one of them ever mentioned by these old gin-drinking hacks. The hacks at Edinburgh mentioned and applauded "COTTAGE ECONOMY," and I am sorry they did : I wish to succeed in *spite* of all such hacks. As to *Paper-against-Gold*, it was first published in the Register ; next in two volumes, and sold for a guinea : next an edition in numbers to the

amount of more than *fifty thousand complete copies*; next *two editions in octavo*; and now the call for it was such, that I was compelled to republish it. The sale is very great; I will bet Parnell the amount of what he and "Noble" Grenville will *lose* by their books (not a trifle), that *Paper-against-Gold*, though only just published, has had already a greater sale than both theirs put together. And a shame indeed would it be, if it were otherwise; for here is real knowledge; here are the rudiments of science appertaining to *money*; here are the history and mystery of that infernal system of paper-monopoly, which has impoverished and degraded this once rich and lofty kingdom. One would wonder what the nasty old shuffle-breeches blackguards could say to one another, or how they could look at one another, when they happen to see this book, or to hear any one talking about it! But, still more striking, perhaps, is the case of the "*PROTESTANT REFORMATION*," which has been republished in North America, South America, Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Germany. A gentleman, travelling in Italy, saw it printing, in Italian, at the *Vatican Press*, and his account of what he saw was published in several English newspapers. So, here is a book, first published in London, sold to the amount of *fifty thousand copies* here, and continually selling greatly, translated into all living languages, published all over the world, and yet these old scabby hacks, while they affect to sit in judgment on all books, never say one word about it, while, I dare say, they fill up pages upon pages with the miserable stuff of Parnell, or of Grenville, or of P. T. Courtenay!

Mr. PEEL said, lately, that the *wealth* of the country had "*outgrown its institutions*," which I thought a very *ugly* saying, particularly when accompanied with an eulogium on *French Police* and *Scotch Law*, with a sort of cold glance at *juries*. The *sense* of the country has, however, *outgrown the shuffle-breeches hacks*, as my experience amply proves. Their trade is got to be a very poor one:

none but habitual fools take their hired and partial stuff: the affairs of the world are become of too much importance to leave leisure for dosing over the droppings from their ropy skulls. And, indeed, the newspapers have little more weight: they are the amusement of the idlest hours of the idle: nobody of sense believes their facts, or pays the least attention to their opinions; and, if it were not for the stock-jobbing and the paper-money monopoly, they would soon be swept clean from our sight. Let *young men of talent* bear this in mind; that I have written and published a *shop of books*, not only without the aid, but in spite of, reviews and newspapers.

Now, my Lord Duke, here is another very great circumstance in my favour: the people see all this: they see me *singled out*: they see this vile press *pulling together* against me: they resent this: they make my cause their own, and they are delighted with the manner in which I pull down and trample upon the blackguard crew. There is one *favour* that I ask of you, my Lord Duke, and I never before asked a favour of any minister; that is, that you will have a law passed to cause all *proprietors, editors, and reporters*, (of *both sexes*) of reviews, magazines, and newspapers, to be drawn up, in rank entire, in HYDE PARK, once in every month of March and once in every month of September. Just to be drawn up, and to be kept standing there for two hours. Only let the people SEE THEM: I ask no more! For the convenience of the public, they might be formed into a circle, or a hollow square; and there might be a guard of soldiers to keep fists, and feet, stones and rotten eggs from them. The *bare sight* of the assemblage would be quite enough: people would go home hanging their heads for shame, that they had thrown their money away upon matter proceeding from the brains of such a hang-dog crew.

First cousin to the *silence* of the REVIEWERS is that of *other bodies*, which, not liking dislocation, I do not care to mention in a more particular manner. The *silence* here is truly admirable; it is as close as if the parties had bound

themselves and one another to it by the most horrid of all possible curses. If each felt his soul in constant and imminent jeopardy; if each knew that a thunder-bolt was suspended over his head to fall in case of breach of compact, the silence could not be more profound, or more unanimous. Locke, Hume, Audem Smeth, Dr. Copplestone, Ricardo, Tooke, Peter Mac Culloch, Dr. Hamilton, and the devil knows who, are raked up, some out of their graves and others out of their this-world rubbish; my doctrines and even *my very words* are stated, urged, and repeated, with all the seeming confidence of originality; but never is there an allusion, even the most distant, to ME! These actors, however, *over-play their part*. The public see through the whole. They know, that it is unnatural; that it is forced; that there is a motive; that it is *impossible*, quite impossible, *that the actors should not know that they are uttering my words*; and the conclusion is, that the actors are restrained from making the acknowledgment by their fear that the public would exclaim: "Why is he *not there*, then; and why was he *not there long ago*!" So that nothing is gained by silence even here, any more than amongst the shuffle-breeches hacks. There is one subject of more importance than all others put together: years ago, seeing that I never could conciliate this *tacit combination*, and knowing, that, at last, he who triumphed on this subject would triumph over all; I resolved (and I said it in the Register) that, by the time that this subject should *force itself forward*, I would take care to leave *no thought, with sense in it*, to be uttered without it being manifest to the public *that the thought was mine*; and no *salutary* measure to be adopted, without it being manifest to every soul *that the measure was mine*. And now the subject has forced itself forward, and will continue to force itself forward, and a part of my business shall be to keep the plagiarisms constantly before the public, and, let the result be what it may, to *secure for myself ample justice*; to which all my numerous and sensible readers will respond, AMEN!

What a long list of woes has this unjust hostility to me brought upon this now-miserable country; and what, then, is the list that it has in reserve! If you, my Lord Duke, had time (which you never yet have had) to sit coolly down, at your country house, and to read with *impartial mind*, all the articles in the Register, on this subject, from 1803, to the time of the *Panic* (and which I would send you if I had them to send without leaving myself without a copy), you, feeling, as you must, the extreme peril of our present situation, and seeing how earnestly I laboured, and (for *some years*) with the *greatest good humour*, to cause efficient and salutary measures to be adopted *in order to prevent this crisis*; if you were to sit thus coolly down, and thus impartially to read, I am sure you would exclaim: "is it possible, that facts so clearly stated, arguments so conclusive, propositions so just, so reasonable, and so easy of execution, and coming forth, too, with obvious sincerity and disinterestedness, and stated and urged with so much moderation, and in a manner so decorous: is it possible, that all this was rejected, that it was received with scorn, and that it awakened a thirst for inflicting punishment, reaching almost the blood of the author!" If you could but brush away all the buzzers from your ears, divest yourself of prejudice, and sit down thus and read, I am sure that such, or such like, would be your exclamation.

You would find, that, for *seven long years*, I was labouring to effect this great good for my country, and *without imputing blame* for the past, without casting reproach or ridicule on any one, and without the smallest desire to be thought even an *adviser* in the case: so that the good were *done*, I was ready to applaud whomsoever might be the doer. but when lawyers were set to work to tear me limb from limb, and the heart out of my body, and when I saw the *tacit combination* chuckle in the hope that I was killed, the case was altered; not as to my object and my duty; but, greatly as to my *manner of doing that duty*: I assumed, as I had always a right to do,

the tone of *superiority*; I *laid down the law*; I dictated, I predicted, I blamed, I taunted, I bantered, I ridiculed; but, especially, I *predicted*, and almost said, *you shall do this, and you shall not do that*. This roused the *pride* of the *tacit combination*: it seemed resolved to do nothing that should give me a triumph; and I was resolved, that, without my having such triumph, it should do nothing to save itself; for I took care to advise those measures by which alone it could be saved.

An odd sort of warfare, to be sure; but it has been going on from 1810, to the present day, and it is still going on. I was weak; the lawyers had not only crippled me, but had me a close prisoner, with a monstrous ransom imposed on my devoted head. I, however, soon found the means of recommencing hostilities in a small way; and you will, I hope, have seen with what truly soldier-like skill and *patience* and *caution* I opened the trenches, and made my approaches in *Paper against Gold*. I had no means of storming; but, I made my ground sure as far as I went; and, since that, I have had as successful campaigns, in my way, as ever you had in yours; and I now laugh at the *tacit combination*, the public joining in the laugh. When I was a serjeant-major, which I was at nineteen, I found time to study *french* and *fortification*. My *chef-d'œuvre* in the latter was, the plan of a regular sexagon with every description of out-work. When I had finished my plan, on a small scale, and in the middle of a very large piece of drawing paper, I set to work to lay down the plan of a *siege*, made my line of circumvallation, fixed my batteries and cantonments, opened my trenches, made my approaches, covered by my gabions and fascines, at last effected a mine, and had all prepared for blowing up the citadel. I kept this plan until SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH'S bill induced me to retreat in 1817, when it was either sold at Botley, or was taken by some scoundrel who had the baseness to keep it. I had this plan in *Newgate*, while under sentence of two year's imprisonment, a thousand pounds fine, and seven years' heavy bail, for having ex-

pressed my indignation at the *flogging of English local-militia-men*, in the heart of England, under a guard of *Hanoverian bayonets*. I happened to look at it one day, and the thought occurred, that I must proceed against the system, just as I had against my sexagonal town; and, you will see, in *Paper against Gold*, every step required in a regular and formal siege.

Since that, and particularly since the passing of PEEL'S Bill, it has been holiday work; but, the *tacit combination* has by no means been overlooked: at sometimes I have spread out the proofs of its qualities over whole pages; at others I have crammed them into a paragraph; at others hooked them into a simile, or a parenthesis. In didactic essays, in epistolary addresses, in commentaries, in rustic harangues, in petitions, in grammars, in travels, in history, in sermons, in works on rural affairs, in all sorts of ways, and with still new life and interest, though with endless repetitions, I have taught the *whole of the present generation* how to *estimate justly* the qualities of the *tacit combination*. When I have happened to catch any of the individuals straying out of the sacred pale into TAVERNS or BOOKSELLER'S SHOPS, I have kicked them and cuffed them, and tossed them into the street, and left the boys to drag them through the kennel, and to make them subject of sport.

An old veteran place-hunter said, many years ago, that, "if there were *no law* " to put CORBETT down, a law to do it " *ought to be made*; for that, unless that " were done, the people would lose all " respect for *public men*." An old SCOTCH apostate went further, and actually suggested what he thought would effect the purpose. Alas! my Lord Duke, "*public men*" are not robbed of the respect *due* to them; and, if they have what is *not their due*, they ought to lose it. If there be *no party left*; if there be no men, whom the *people rally round*, as in former times; if there be *no name* the sound of which inspires confidence; if all be become one dreary waste of uncertainty and indifference, whose fault is it? Not mine, unless it be a *fault* in me to have convinced the

nation, that I possess more of that knowledge of the application of which the country stands most in need, than all the "*public men*" put together. It has not been, on my part, a pulling down of "*public men*"; but a *raising of myself up* above them. When you, my Lord Duke, hear, for instance, BURDETT, after my clear exposure of Ricardo's error in 1821, saying, in 1822, that *it was not Peel's Bill* that had done the mischief; and, when you hear him, in 1828, vehemently declaring *that it was that bill that had done all the mischief*, the man sinks in your eyes; but, *is it I* that cause him to sink? Yes; but not by any thing done *to him*; but, by showing you, that I knew what he not only did not know, but what I, with all my pains and perspicuity, was unable to make him understand; and this what both right and duty call on me to do.

You will not, my Lord Duke, have read thus far without being convinced, that, *if I had been in Parliament*, or, if I had not, *if the tacit combination had not existed*, the present state of things could not *possibly* have existed. I assume this as an undeniable truth; and as such the whole nation views it, not excepting even the *tacit combination* itself. Every ruined man, every half-broken-up jolterheaded 'squire, is *now* convinced, that his ruin would have been avoided, if I had been in Parliament, or, if there had been no *tacit combination*, obstinately bent, cost what it would, not to do that which should give me a *triumph*. Curious spectacle! A great country harassed, embarrassed, sunk in the eyes of the world, and dreading total ruin and convulsion, only because the great and the rich formed the determination that *one particular man* should not mount to the eminence to which his great and rare qualities gave him a fair and undoubted claim.

Let me hope, or, rather, let the country have reason to hope, that *you* do not belong to this combination; and that you will, therefore, listen to what I *now* have to say respecting THE END of this dreadful system; for, to an end it must come, and for that end you ought to be prepared. But, my opinions on this

subject must be stated in a Letter to be published in the next Register. It was necessary first to *prove* to you, that you *ought* to listen to me: this I have now done: next I shall offer you *my advice* with regard to the *future*: you will follow it, or you will not: the public will have its eye upon us both; and events will enable it to judge our conduct.

WM. COBBETT.

TO

SIR JAMES GRAHAM.

Kensington, 2nd July, 1828.

SIR,

You thought, I dare say, that you had managed the matter very *snugly*, when you had got before the "Collective Wisdom" and into the broad-sheet your arguments against Peel's Bill, and your confession of the errors imbibed from "*the ORACLE*," *without naming me*! Very *snug* work, to cause the public to believe, that you had corrected your error in consequence of having studied LOCKE, HUME (the romancer), and AUDEN SMETH, of cheap-currency fame! Very, very snug, to use no argument, worth a pin, that you had not taken from me, while you so managed it that *the public would never dream* that you had ever read a word of my writings! How you must have hugged yourself in this thought, "*bright*" as the "*sword*" of your renowned ancestor!

Alas! Sir James Graham, how you deceive yourself! How completely you are out as to public opinion on this point! The public did me justice *instantly*: every reader of your speech exclaimed, "*It is all Cobbett's except the depreciation project: all the science and sense is Cobbett's.*" Of this I am now about to produce a proof, in an extract of an article, published in the DUBLIN MERCANTILE ADVERTISER of the 9th of June, which article was on the subject of the debate, during which your GRAND SPEECH, so highly praised by LIDDELL, BURDETT, ATTWOOD, and other of your brethren was made. Read it, son of John with the bright sword; and, mind, if you do not, *the public will*. It is addressed to yourself;

and, observe, that the writer is wholly unknown to me, and that I never saw the article, until this very morning, when a gentleman put it into my hand.

"On Sir James Graham's speech, we beg to offer a few words in the way of remonstrance. He quoted Locke, Humé, (not Joseph) but the romantic historian of that name, and Mr. Horner,—a great authority on the Bullion question, whose mantle, the reader has been told, has descended on the shoulders of the late Mr. Ricardo, and for which, as for the armour of Achilles, all the economists in the honourable House are so stoutly struggling. Whether Baring will obtain it, or Maberly, or Goulbourn, or Graham, we shall not pretend to conjecture. Among all the quotations, of the descendant of him with the long sword, we regret to find that he has made one capital omission,—*he does not quote Mr. Cobbett*, although his speech reads, with the exception of the quotations from ancient authors, as like the writing of that gentlemen, as one register upon this subject is like another—arguments, illustrations, drift and all, except indeed that the honourable Baronet failed in that peculiar and striking felicity of language, by which his celebrated master is so remarkably distinguished. This we think extremely ungrateful on the part of Sir James,—but give us leave to add, it is also very foolish. Mr. Cobbett is a man, who will not allow his feathers to be plucked with impunity. Woe indeed to the jackdaw who struts in his plumes; Sir James has experienced a little rough treatment once before, and if Mr. Cobbett be not called away by more pressing considerations, he will assuredly experience it again.—In truth, in reading this debate, we were exceedingly amused with the caution manifested by all sides of the House in avoiding the name of this remarkable man. 'Oh! no, we never mention her!' says the love-sick swain in the song, while it is quite clear his thoughts were running upon nothing but his mistress. Mr. Cobbett's name was not once mentioned in the debate, al-

though it is evident to every one who reads the discussion, and is in the constant habit of reading, like ourselves, his *Register*, that his pages have been most unmercifully plundered by the opposers of the Bill, and that even those who applied themselves to sustain the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were rather answering the arguments of Mr. Cobbett, or trying to answer them. Even when Sir J. Graham apologised for his inconsistency in voting for Peel's Bill in 1819, and saying that he was led astray by the egregious fallacy of Mr. Ricardo—the *Gridiron*, though it must have been present to his mind, was never mentioned. Mr. Cobbett, at the very time the Bill was in progress, and long before it was a law, showed the nature of that fallacy, and predicted, as clearly as possible, more clearly in point of fact, than any political prophecy that ever was made, the consequences which followed from that Bill. The truth is, that people hate and fear Mr. Cobbett. They are not able to put him down, they were not able to write him down; and to attempt talking him down would be rather a dangerous service. They therefore appear to have entered into a compact, to preserve in his regard, a dignified silence." What com-bry! what meanness! The curiosity, however of the thing is this, that they all pipe in the same key. Whigs, Tories, Radicals; if there be any radicals in 'the House'; Economists,—all of them from the emptiest Lord Charles, who stutters out his inanities, even to the men of sense and knowledge, such as Huskisson and Brougham, shy him upon this and other subjects as if he were something portentous. And so in truth he is. The Cassandra of the Greek poets foretold the event, and some there were who believed her. But King Agamemnon and his Court affected to despise her predictions, though they trembled while they tried to laugh. We forget whether Cassandra was persecuted. We rather think not, for she belonged to the higher orders.

"She was the daughter of a Duke (they called them Kings in those days) and she was allowed the liberty of prophesying without the fear of Newgate. But whether or not, *she lived to see*—we do not choose to carry our parallel farther."

There, "*bright sword*," take that as a proof of the light in which the well-informed part of the public view the matter. The London *press* is, however, *silent*! Yes; but the London *people* are not. This base *press* is under an influence, from which that of Ireland is free. This London *press* is known to be, is undeniably, the most base and corrupt thing on earth; but, it has no weight with the *public*; and, therefore, affords no good ground of comfort to the *tacit combination*.

I wonder to *what point* the *tacit combination* will carry its rare silence! Will it go on until the affair shall go *quite* to pieces? Will it face convulsion rather than *openly* come to my shop? In 1822, I told GAFFER GOOCH, that he must come *to my shop*; but, that he should come *openly*, in the *day-time*, should enter at the *street-door*, and ask for me *by name*. I say this still: I have the means of cure always ready; but, never shall they be applied without all the world knowing that they *come from me*.

Oh! but the proud stomachs will come down! Wheat at four shillings a bushel, farms paying no rent and given up to the poor to raise their food on, property violated with impunity, society convulsed to its centre; or, panic, making every man tremble who has any thing to lose, and making law of no more weight than an old ballad; or, bank-restriction and two prices, followed by all the consequences, so well-known, and so fatally illustrated in the case of France. Either of these will pull the *proud stomachs down*, and, when, probably, it will be too late, make them *openly*, and *by name*, appeal to him, to keep whom down they have exhausted so ample a budget of contrivances. Yes, the proud stomachs will come down; and the sooner they come down the *better for themselves*. As to my *triumph*, that is quite safe; but, the longer the *tacit combination* shall

exist, the more signal that triumph will be.

It is no exaggeration to say, though it is monstrous to think of, that the nation has been ruined by the resolution of the great and the rich to prevent me from attaining the eminence, to which I was entitled by my talents and my virtues, and that all that spoliation, that destruction of fortunes, that sweeping down of meritorious families, all that misery, that starvation, those broken hearts and those acts of self-destruction, which DAVENPORT, looking PEELE in the face, ascribed to his Bill; that all these sad consequences have been caused, not by that Bill *alone*; but by a long series of acts, some of omission and some of commission, the sole object of which was *to keep me down*. This is no exaggeration at all. The *vengeance* I have taken is that pointed out by all virtues: I have resolved to stand higher than any other man, by constantly advising that which the happiness and safety of my country demanded, leaving my adversaries to save themselves by acknowledging my superiority, or to persevere in their unnatural strife and take the consequences.

WM. COBBETT.

MR. O'CONNELL.

My readers may have known, though I really did not, that a FITZGERALD, called VASEY, is now President of the Board of *Trade*, and thereby vacates his seat for the County of CLARE, in Ireland, thinking, of course, that he had nothing to do, but to send over and be *re-elected*. Mr. O'CONNELL has started against him, and, as I most anxiously hope, with a certainty of success. But, Mr. O'CONNELL, not being an apostate to his religion, cannot take the *seat*, because he cannot take the *oaths*, which the taking of that seat requires him to take. This, however, does not prevent him from being *elected*, from franking letters, and from keeping the *Trading gentleman out of the seat*. In short it will embarrass the Government and Collective exceedingly, and will do more for the Catholics than ever has been attempted to be done, or, rather, pretended to be

attempted to be done, by all the speech-makers of the Collective. It will show the people of England *what the Catholic cause really is*: Mr. O'Connell is not to be thwarted without a new, and hitherto unheard of, act of parliament; and these are not times for the passing of such acts. He will now do more in one day, than has been done in forty years, by all other men, for the cause of Ireland, ill-treated and half-murdered Ireland. He now couples the rights of his injured religion and country with the *right of us all to be represented in Parliament*. He distinctly does that; and it is the duty of every man to support him. Let those who can stick their knees in the backs of men *in power*, whom they have before accused of every political crime, accuse me of *inconsistency*, if they choose; but, Mr. O'CONNELL being explicitly for *parliamentary reform*, I am for Mr. O'CONNELL; and every thing, be it what it may, that I can lawfully do to aid him in the great, brave, and truly glorious undertaken, I am resolved to do. The very *thought* of doing such a thing as this ought to immortalize a man, if he act up to the thought. Never would the Catholics have got any thing by whining and praying. It would seem, that the Devil's religion, if he had any, would be tolerated and cherished. That of Half-Jews, and that of Jews themselves, have been any thing but the religion of our fathers, to whom we owe every thing truly great in England, every thing that made this nation rich, free, powerful, and renowned. And are the Catholics, seven millions in number, any longer to put up with treatment like this? Are the founders of all our churches, cathedrals, and colleges, and all our almost holy laws; are those who made the country so famous and so happy; are they to look from their graves and see a crew of mongrel sects favoured, cherished, and flattered, and that, too, in order to enlist them in efforts to perpetuate oppression in those who have no crime but that of adhering to the faith of St. AUSTIN and ALFRED? Will Englishmen say, that this ought to be? or, will they listen to the dictates of that *justice* which is their great characteristic, and

resolve, that, as far as lawfully in them lies, it shall cease to be?

THE GRAND BATTLE.

IN the House of Lords, on Thursday, the 26th of June, there arose a debate on a petition from the *Presbyterians of Canada*, against suffering the church-lands there to be given *exclusively to the clergy of the Church of England*. These lands were granted by an *an Act of Parliament*; GRENVILLE and PITT drew up the Act; and HARROWBY brought word from GRENVILLE, that by "*PROTESTANT CHURCH*," they meant *PRESBYTERIAN* as well as *Episcopal*! However, this is a matter of no sort of interest to the people here: it does not signify how they settle it: let them do what they like with the lands in CANADA, as they appear to be likely to do, in a moderate space of time. It is the Church-Lands *HERE* that *WE* are interested in. The Bishop of Chester (the great Church-Orator) contended, however, stoutly for the lands in Canada, which drew forth the following pithy speech from Lord CLIFDEN.—"Lord CLIFDEN knew that some persons were of opinion that the loss of the Canadas would be no loss to this country. If their Lordships were of this opinion, they could not more certainly carry their wishes into effect, than by superadding religious dissensions to those already existing in these colonies. Nothing could so effectually disgust and irritate the people there as giving the whole of the revenues of the Clergy to a Church whose members formed a small minority. The Church of England should be content *with its large temporalities* in this country, which it would continue to enjoy as long as the dividends were paid. Then would come the general battle between the landowner, the fundholder, and the Church. To avert this danger, the Clergy should pray for the life of Charles the Tenth, during whose reign there would not probably be a war in Europe."

Very true, my LORD CLIFDEN! The Church, or, rather, the parsons and

bishops, will enjoy it all "*as long as the dividends be paid*;" and that, they think will be for ever *and a day*, as their great Protestant-Reformation Poet has it. But, if they should deceive themselves! Ah! then comes NORFOLK PETITION, which, I perceive, your lordship has read. I do not know your reasons for believing, that the life of CHARLES X. is a preservative against war; but, I do not think that war is necessary, that it is at all necessary, to produce the state of things that you manifestly have in your eye. The dividends will require *money*, whether in war or in peace; and I am of opinion, that no war is required to bring that famous concern to a close.

PAPER-MONEY PETITIONS.

AMONGST the great number of these, Mr. HUME, presented on 26th June, the following:—"Mr. HUME presented a Petition from Ebenezer Black, a farmer in Northumberland, complaining of the withdrawal of one-pound notes from circulation. The Petitioner stated, that he had *taken his farm in 1822*, when a legislative enactment was made, the effect of which was the continuance of these notes in circulation *until 1833*. It was upon the *faith of this measure* that he had taken the farm; and he complained very justly, as well as others, of the injury done to his interest, *by the Act of 1826*. He wished particularly to call the attention of the House to a clause of the Petition which appeared to him to be *a reasonable one*. It was one praying that a clause should be inserted in the Bill now before Parliament, *granting an indemnity* to all persons who had sustained an injury by the Act of 1826. [*A slight laugh.*] In the passing of every Bill in that House, even of a common Turnpike Act, care was taken to prevent injury from being done to individuals, and he thought that a similar protection ought to be extended in the present instance.—The petition was ordered to be printed."

This is good: this is the way that the thing works. It will now work still more efficiently. It will sweep down thousands upon thousands as the wind

and rain do the leaves in November. EBENEZER BLACK knows what the bill of 1826 has *done* for him; but, little does he dream, I dare say, of what it will *yet do*. It has not yet *gone into effect*. Almost all the notes are out that were out when the Bill was passed; and, in addition, great numbers have been issued since; for I have seen them dated so late as *August last*! This the Rooks were authorized to do, if they were *possessed of stamps before the bill was passed*; and the deep devils of Quakers *smelled out*, some how or other, what was coming, and supplied themselves with a *stock of stamps beforehand*.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

My *Kentish* Correspondent has my best thanks. I am sure that he merits all the pleasure and all the benefit that he may have derived from my writings.

AUDEM DONALDSON, of ABROATH-SAWBETH, may depend on seeing his letter inserted in the Register. Several letters, besides this, I have already received from Scotland, thanking me for exposing the *banking tyranny* of that country. One writer says, that it is "*worse and more humiliating than any other under the sun*;" and this I most firmly believe. All agree, that the nation ought to feel deep gratitude to the Ministry, if they put down that tyranny.

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* * Recollect, the "DEPÔT OF TASTE" is 78, Fleet-street.

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